

# SCOTLAND'S STORY

41

**Sir Walter Scott:  
hero of history or  
cultural disaster**

**Scotland on edge  
of revolution**

**The iron horse  
arrives by rail  
with a toot**

**Wolves become  
the public enemy**

**Irish settlers find  
a welcome of  
sectarian hate**



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**1787**

The young Walter Scott meets Burns at Sciennes House, Edinburgh.

**1814**

Scott anonymously publishes Waverley.

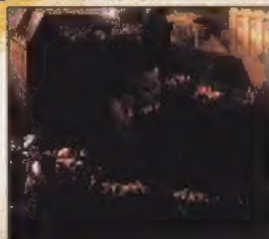


**1820**

The 'Radical War' drives many to the brink of revolution.

**1822**

Scott orchestrates the visit of George IV to Edinburgh.



**1830**

Industrial capitalism takes off in Scotland.



**1840**

Work begins on the monument to Scott in Edinburgh.



**1832**

Scott works himself to death trying to pay off his debts.



**1841**

Statistics show tens of thousands of Irish immigrants in Scotland.



**1850**

The railway age builds up steam.

**In Part 42:  
The Highland  
Clearances**

PART OF  
IRELAND

North  
Channel

PART  
ENGLA

ATLANTIC  
OCEAN

Orkney

NORTH  
SEA

N. Vist

Little Minch

S. Vist

Levis

Skye

Mull

Thurso

Wick

Inverness

Banff

River Don

River Dee

Aberdeen

Stirling

Glasgow

Firth of Forth

Berwick





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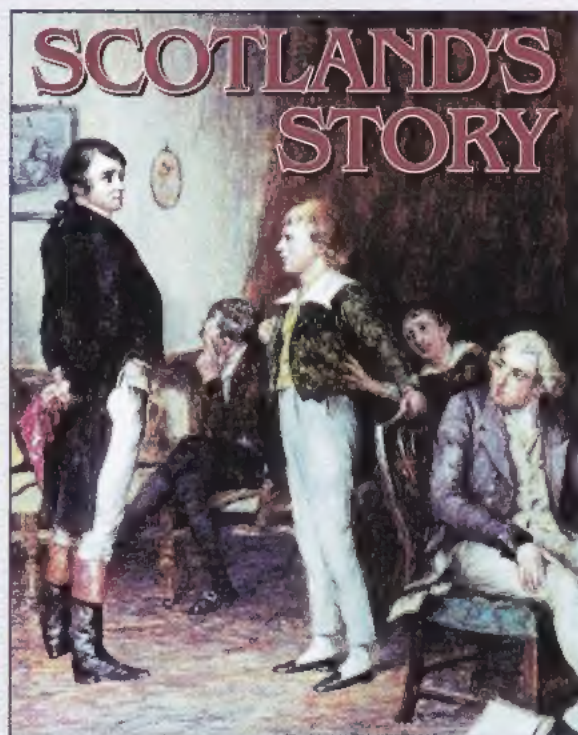
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## COMMENT



COVER:  
The schoolboy  
Walter Scott  
meets another  
Scots literary  
giant – the  
poet Rabbie  
Burns at  
Sciennes  
House, in  
Edinburgh.

## Tall tales of a grandfather

Sir Walter Scott's memory literally towers over Scotland's capital in the form of a huge monument erected on Princes Street in the 1840s. This extraordinary Gothic fantasy structure has divided opinion in much the same way as the author whose life it celebrates.

Scott had a great historical imagination. The nation's past fascinated him and he spent his life communicating his sense of wonder and exhilaration to others. But his work also blurred the division between historical imagining and fact.

The title of his quasi-historical 'Tales of a Grandfather' is a gentle reminder that fact and fiction are intermingled in order to tell a good story. The problem with this as a work of history is that Scott does not inform his readers where fact ends and fiction begins.

This process is also evident in Scott's 'historical realism' novels such as 'Waverley', which gives an account of the 1745 Rising. In it people, places and events are either spun or invented to make the story work. Scott wanted his English readers to be excited and feel educated about the 'noble savagery' of the Highlanders, but

also to be reassured that the defeat at Culloden had made them (and the Scots as a whole) accept that their future lay with Hanoverian Britain.

Scott's historical fiction, absorbing and wonderful as it is, provides neither a reliable guide to historical events, nor an accurate representation of the politics and culture of Scotland's past. It made a formative contribution to the debate over whether history can be accurate and appealing at the same time.

Today, the bookshelves in the shops at countless heritage sites pay their own silent tribute to Scott's success in popularising Scotland's story.

A criticism of Scott is his hypocrisy in championing popular struggles of the past, while condemning those of the present. In the spring of 1820, he called for a 'Highland Host' to crush the thousands of urban workers who were demanding reform of the political system.

Culminating in brutal suppression, the 'Radical War' of 1820 turned out to be a key stage in the evolution of modern parliamentary democracy.



# Sir Walter: man and conflicting



■ Pomp and ceremony: the spectacular stage-managed and tartan-wrapped entry of King George IV to Edinburgh painted by John Wilson Ewbank.

**Beloved writer, populariser of Scottish history, literary innovator, yet the paradox of Scott is that as an arch Tory, companion of royalty, decrier of democracy, he was also prime inventor of Scotland's independent identity**

**W**hen, in July 1822, it was announced that the recently-crowned George IV was to make the first visit to Scotland by a reigning monarch since the 17th century, the task of organising the event was given to Walter Scott.

Scott, then 51 years old, was at the height of his fame for literary works that had made Scotland fascinating to the reading public, first in his collection of folk poetry,

'The Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border' (1802), then in narrative poems such as 'The Lay of the Last Minstrel' (1805), and 'Marmion' (1808), and later through his novels of Scottish history, such as 'Waverley' (1814) set around the 1745 Jacobite Rebellion, 'Old Mortality' (1816) about the Covenanters, and 'Rob Roy' (1817), with its celebration of the exploits of the Highland bandit.

Among Scott's enthusiastic readers was George IV – indeed, it



# of masks passions



is suggested that Scott's 'Kenilworth', about the progress of Queen Elizabeth through her territory, was the model for George's visits to Ireland and Scotland.

George, like many others, was entirely undeceived by Scott's claim to know nothing about who the author of the 'Waverley' novels was — though Scott's many visitors could never work out when he got time, between his duties as Clerk of Session at the law courts in

Edinburgh and his duties as Sheriff of Selkirkshire, to write the enormous number of works he was responsible for.

On taking the throne, Scott was the first person whom George IV made a baronet, partly in recognition of Scott's role in the recovery of the missing Scottish Regalia in 1818.

Scott set out to ensure the King's historic visit would be provided with a suitably historical setting and, since

there were no traditions of how the King should be received in Scotland, Scott constructed one that was designed to make this member of the Protestant Hanoverian royal family also the inheritor of the mantle of the Stuarts.

Edinburgh and the King were to meet decked in tartan and the King, in full Highland dress, was to be greeted by the assembled clans of Scotland.

The new King would arrive in a

Scotland that would match the romantic world of Scott's fiction.

Lockhart, Scott's son-in-law and biographer, was to note the strangeness of this decision by someone whose family were Borderers. He records that it was "generally thought... that the Highlanders, their kilts, and their bagpipes, were to occupy a great deal too much space in every scene". And he comments dryly: "With all respect and admiration for the noble and generous qualities which our countrymen of the Highland clans have so often exhibited, it was difficult to forget that they had always constituted a small, and almost always unimportant part of the Scottish population."

It is an event which has become notorious, both in Scotland's history and in Scott's biography.

The construction of Highland culture as the image of a Scotland which was, by the 1820s, deeply engaged in the process of the industrial revolution, has been seen as the moment at which a false Scotland — invented in the fiction of Scott — was wrapped, like the tartan swathing the vast bulk of the King's body, around the real nation, concealing it from the world and distorting its own self-perception.

The fact that this explosion of Celticism was happening at the height of the clearing of real Highlanders from their land has confirmed for many how divorced the imaginary Scotland was from its reality, and to Scott has fallen the blame for the consequences of that divide — the hypocritical indulgence in romantic conceptions of Scotland's national identity combined with craven conformity to whatever was required by the British state.

The fact that Scott was organising this vast masquerade while still maintaining the pretence that he was not the author of his various novels, and that he was also secretly the owner of Ballantyne's printing company — which he insisted his publisher used to produce his books — has, for many, simply confirmed the duplicity which Scott exemplifies and which Scotland itself came to inhabit.

The doubleness of romantic author and commercial tradesman took all too physical form between 1814 and 1822 in Scott's building of a mock baronial home at Abbotsford in the Borders. Scott vastly overstretched his own finances to build something befitting his own conception of himself as a 'laird'.

The house was at once a museum ►





■ **Magical moment:** Robert Burns meets the boy Walter Scott, another Scottish literary giant of the future, at Sciennes House, Edinburgh.

► of Scottish history, stuffed with relics which he bought at often inflated prices, and an experiment in modern technology, with its own gas lighting system.

As Scott wrote his novels of the Scottish past at ever faster pace to make the money to build his house, a model of the Scotland he was going to leave behind was being constructed around him, a concealed modernity within an apparently ancient structure.

The paradoxes of Scott's character have proved fascinating to biographers. His enthusiasm for the Jacobite cause in the past was combined with a strict Tory Unionism in the present; his celebration of the lower classes in his fiction did not moderate his rabid desire to have radicals and rioters put down with the maximum force; his desperate efforts to earn vast wealth had to be concealed by appearing not to be working as a commercial novelist.

Those concealments were to have catastrophic consequences when his printing company foundered in 1826 and left him with debts which he could only meet by writing novels at

## He finally lived in Abbotsford as the guest of his creditors - yet still his writing earnings rolled in

a pace that even he – who had published four in one year in 1823 – could not manage without serious damage to his health, leading directly to his death in 1832.

In his final years he inhabited Abbotsford as the guest of his creditors, to whom his literary earnings flowed in undiminished amounts, while privately he wrote a diary – published later as 'The Journal of Sir Walter Scott' – that records his sufferings and which many consider to be his finest literary work.

As Scott's reputation as a writer declined in the late 19th century what remained of him was the enigma. When Edwin Muir came to write about him in 1936, in 'Scott and Scotland', it was not to try to re-establish his reputation as a writer, but to try to understand what had gone wrong with Scott's art and what this told us about what

had gone wrong with Scottish culture, how hollow and fake it was.

And yet, throughout the 19th century, no writer had been more influential than Scott. From novels like 'Waverley' came the rage for the fictional representation of history, which dominated the 19th-century novel from Balzac to Tolstoy: the business of the novel was the business of dramatising the conflicts of history as seen from below, from the perspective of the ordinary people rather than from the perspective of the leaders of society. Scott's techniques – in the presentation of a protagonist who can see both sides of a conflict, in his focus on the economic contradictions which shape the actions of characters – provided the model for many subsequent novels, and through Scott the notions of the Scottish Enlightenment historians and philosophers, with their conception

of history as a series of 'stages', were transmitted to the general readership of Europe and America.

At the same time, Scott's work provided the model for the novel as the key means of constructing national identity. Scott, after all, had done as much, in novels such as 'Kenilworth' (1821), to define English national identity as he had Scottish, and writers such as Manzoni in Italy and Fenimore Cooper in the United States set out to create narratives which would provide a similar sense of national identity for their own emergent cultures.

Equally, Scott's Medievalism, both in his poetry and in novels such as 'Ivanhoe' (1819), was to promote that obsessive concern with pre-industrial culture that runs through Victorian writing from Tennyson to William Morris and his inheritance can be seen in the gothic architecture that is based on his versions of the Medieval period.

Perhaps the most powerful influence of his work, one which he helped himself through his interest in the theatre (he bought the licence





■ **Abbotsford House:** Sir Walter Scott bought the farm in 1811 and converted the farmhouse into what he described as his 'conundrum castle'.

for the main theatre in Edinburgh in 1811, and the theatricality of the King's visit in 1822 was no accident. Scott employed his theatrical partner and director, Terry, to shape the event), was through its many adaptations for the stage, both dramatic and operatic.

In 1826, for instance, Scott attended Rossini's operatic version of 'Ivanhoe' in Paris, and operas such as Donizetti's 'Lucia de Lammermoor', based on Scott's 'The Bride of Lammermoor' (1819), remains one of the staples of modern operatic production.

The theatrical success of Scott's work transferred itself directly to the screen in the early days of cinema, both in terms of the regularity with which Scott novels were turned into films and in terms of the use of aspects of Scott's work in early classics, such as W.D. Griffiths' 'The Birth of a Nation'.

Later, of course, series such as 'Ivanhoe' brought Scott's characters to the small screen in the early days of television.

Scott is ubiquitous in the 19th century. The locations of his poems



■ **Scott's daughter Sophia with her husband John Gibson Lockhart, critic and biographer.**

and novels in Scotland became the major destinations for tourists from around the world and the same names are insistently scattered across the map of North America and Australasia as people connected their new, unhistorical towns and cities to the history which he had constructed for them.

In Scotland his literary influence can be traced through Robert Louis Stevenson's novels and J.G. Frazer's vast compendium of ancient mythologies, 'The Golden Bough', to early 20th-century writers such as John Buchan and contemporary writers such as Alan Massie.

His cultural influence can be seen not only in the whole machinery of 'tartanry' – from shortbread tins to tourist destinations – but in the architectural styles drawn from his works which form such a significant part of the Scottish urban landscape.

It is even arguable that Scott saved the Scottish banks by his protestations, in the 'Letters of Malachi Malagrowther' (1826), against the government's plans to prevent their issuing banknotes – a favour returned by having his portrait ►



printed on the notes of the Bank of Scotland.

The paradox that has obsessed and provoked later critics is that Scott, the staunchest of Tory Unionists, the most subservient to monarchy and the most opposed to democracy, was the prime inventor of Scotland's independent identity in the eyes of the world.

His novels followed in the wake of the rage for Macpherson's 'Ossian', but they created a vision of Scotland as a place full of the romance of the historical past that the actual Scotland of modern history has struggled to come to terms with.

But if Scott's 'Scotland' was an invention, so was the 'England' he created in novels like 'Ivanhoe' and 'Kenilworth', which were to be equally involved in the construction of English national identity in the 19th century.

What Scott did was to construct models of Scottish and English identity that were complementary, and both of which could co-exist within the Union: what he did, in effect, was to make the Union the

■ Waverley was published in 1814, but 12 years passed before Scott revealed that he was the author.

appropriate location for his own Scottish nationalism, and that unionist nationalism was to be the mainstay of Scottish society – of its continuing cultural independence and of its role within the Empire –

down to the First World War.

For many years, through the period when 'realism' was the dominant mode in the novel, Scott

was considered to be 'the great unread' – a writer impossible for modern readers to enthuse over because of the laborious machinery of editors and narrators, because of the set-piece descriptions of scenery, because of the stereotypes from which many of his characters are constructed.

Since the 1950s and 1960s, however, Scott's works have chimed increasingly with the development of 'postmodernist' fiction, with its emphasis on the playful disruption of the expectations of realism, and Scott has come to be seen again as what he was – the founder the modern tradition in the novel, the shaper of the modern conception of the nation as a series of historical myths.

It is impossible to understand Scotland's story without going back to the stories of Scotland created by Sir Walter Scott. ●



## TRAGIC LIFE OF A GREAT SCOTTISH STORYTELLER

**B**orn in Edinburgh in 1771, Sir Walter Scott spent his early years in the Borders, at his grandfather's farm of Sandyknowe, under the shadow of Smailholm Tower. Later, in the poem 'Marmion', Scott described how this brooding edifice shaped his historical imagination. He moved to Edinburgh after his father took work there as a lawyer.

Scott was educated at the city's High School and then at the Edinburgh University. There his thought was further influenced by the philosopher-historians of the Enlightenment from whom Scott derived the understanding of history that he would later use to supreme effect in his novels.

A career as a soldier was ruled out by lameness that had resulted from a childhood attack of paralysis. Instead, he was trained for the law.

The drudgery of this was offset by the income it generated during his early writing years. "Literature", he said, "is a good staff but a poor crutch."

Throughout his life, Scott was to

benefit from a happy family life. Although never close to his father, he had a warm relationship with his mother. After his first love affair with Williamina Belsches ended unhappily, he married a French refugee named Charlotte Charpentier.

Their's was a mutually affectionate bond which produced four children. He was a loving father, being especially adored by his daughters.

Scott failed to impress with his initial literary forays, contemporaries viewing him as neither clever nor talented. Indeed, he considered himself to be 'half-educated.'

But his qualities of imagination, good judgement, hard-work and boundless curiosity soon began to pay dividends in his writing after 1801.

Over a 30-year period, Scott's writing would bring him fame and riches, but alone failed to fulfil his ambitions.

His involvement in the printing business was disastrous, as was his investment in his publishers, Constable.

When the stock exchange crashed in



■ Scott worked himself to death.

1825, Scott's over-borrowing left debts of £130,000.

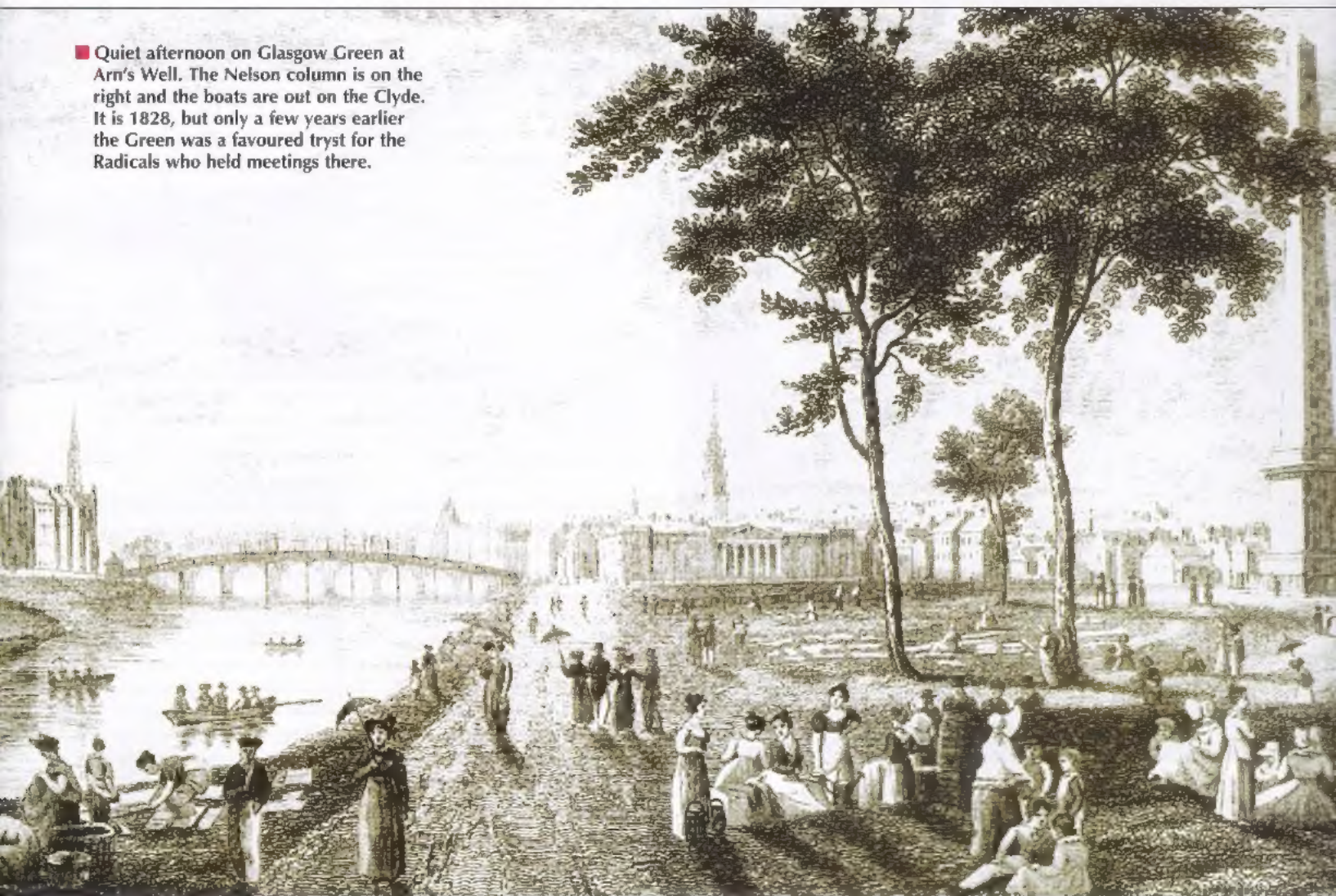
At first he thought Abbotsford, his cherished little estate which he had bought in 1811, would have to go. But he resolved to write his way out of the predicament and made a deal with his trustees to produce literary works, the sale of which would clear his debts. And they did, generating more than £50,000.

This heroic undertaking was, however, to kill him within six years.



# ON THE BRINK OF REVOLUTION

■ Quiet afternoon on Glasgow Green at Arn's Well. The Nelson column is on the right and the boats are out on the Clyde. It is 1828, but only a few years earlier the Green was a favoured tryst for the Radicals who held meetings there.



**It grew out of political anger and economic distress, then flared into a call to arms by the people. It ended with troops on the streets - and blood**

On the night of April 1 to 2, 1820, walls in Glasgow, Paisley, Dumbarton, Kilsyth and various other places were plastered with 'An Address to the Inhabitants of Great Britain and Ireland' signed by 'the Committee of Organisation for forming a Provisional Government'.

It called for a general strike to sweep away the corruption of government and for the restoration of "those rights which distinguishes the FREEMAN from the SLAVE; viz: That of giving consent to the laws by which he is governed."

It launched a week of intense uncertainty, agitation and panic with

armed uprisings on a scale Scotland had not seen since 1745 and was never going to see again. It was the so-called 'Radical War'.

As the long conflict against Napoleon came to an end in 1815, there was a renewal of earlier demands for reform of the political system, with calls for the vote for all men over 21 and for annual parliaments. On top of that came widespread unemployment as demobbed soldiers returned and the collapse of farming drove more and more into the cities in search of work.

The wages of handloom weavers, in particular, fell dramatically under pressure of numbers flocking into a

trade that was relatively easily learned. Older regulation of wages by the courts had recently been swept away and workers were at the mercy of market forces. Meanwhile, the price of the staple oatmeal doubled in the last half of 1816.

Economic distress and political agitation proved a combustible combination and there were numerous reports of secret committees arming and plotting revolution.

The authorities became increasingly anxious. They employed undercover police and paid informers to infiltrate these radical associations.

Meetings demanding political change continued in different parts ▶





■ George III in all his finery: but when preacher Neil Douglas compared the deranged monarch to Nebuchadnezzar eating grass he was promptly charged with sedition, although the case later collapsed.



■ Drill ground on Glasgow Green: in this case it's the army but the Radicals also went through their paces to instill 'military' discipline.

► of Scotland, culminating in October, 1816, in one on the estate of James Turner of Thrushgrove, a wealthy Glasgow tobacco dealer, sympathetic to radical causes.

The Glasgow magistrates had banned the demonstration in the city, but Turner's estate was outside their area of authority. Tens of thousands marched behind banners, with bundles of rods, symbolising unanimity, large brooms to sweep away corruption and with caps of liberty, the French revolutionary symbols of freedom.

It was far and away the largest public gathering that had ever been held in Scotland. The emphasis of the speakers was on peaceful change, with constant references to a 'loyal but wretched People', petitioning for change.

Such unrest was not confined to Scotland. After major riots in

London early in 1817, mass detention without trial of known reformers took place. A few were brought to court. In Kilmarnock, Alex McLaren, a weaver whose earnings were 25p a week despite a 15-hour day, and Thomas Baird, a grocer, were sentenced to six months for distributing radical pamphlets.

In May, a well-known popular preacher, Neil Douglas, was charged with sedition for comparing the mentally-deranged George III to Nebuchadnezzar eating grass and the bucolic Prince Regent to Balshazzar, 'a poor infatuated devotee of Bacchus'.

The case collapsed when informers admitted that they had not been able to follow what he was saying. Other cases collapsed when prosecution witnesses admitted to having been bribed. Despite the farce of many of the trials, these and widespread arrests were enough to intimidate

reformers and the agitation died down.

With economic conditions getting worse, discontent began to come into the open once again during the summer of 1819. Political activists started to re-group and there were calls for a boycott of heavily-taxed tea, tobacco and spirits. In June, a big demonstration in Paisley rejected the usual idea of a petition to the Prince Regent as futile and calls for 'no king, no lords, no gentry, no taxes'. From many parts of the country there were reports of young men marching and drilling.

In August, the country was shocked by news of the cutting down of a peaceful reform demonstration in St Peter's Field, Manchester, by local yeomanry and hussars, an event quickly labelled as Peterloo. Sixteen thousand protested at the outrage on Paisley's Meikleriggs Moor and rioted when the Provost tried to prevent their carrying their banners through the town. The band was locked up for playing 'Scots Wha Hae'. Soon 'Scots Wha Hae' was to be heard whistled and sung everywhere. In Dundee, 10,000 protesting over Peterloo called for annual elections, vote by ballot and universal suffrage.

Lord Liverpool's Tory government responded with the Six Acts, which effectively banned all public meetings and closed radical journals.

There was talk of the imposition of martial law and, to all intents, the

prospect of reform by constitutional means had been cut off.

Even well-to-do reformers like George Kinloch of Kinloch near Dundee, had to flee to Paris to escape arrest. In February 1820 a plot was uncovered in London to murder the whole Cabinet and panic ensued, with the authorities convinced that a nationwide revolutionary conspiracy existed.

Sir Walter Scott, perhaps reading too many of his own novels, called for the summoning of Highland chieftains and a 'Highland Host' to crush radicalism. The better-off rallied to volunteer groups such as the Glasgow Sharpshooters, under the 18-stone, bekkilt 'Colonel' Sam Hunter of the Glasgow Herald, and the small Glasgow police force was issued with cutlasses.

On the other side, in the working class areas of Anderston and elsewhere, pike heads were being forged and clegs, spikes in lead to throw under the hooves of cavalry horses, constructed and bullets cast.

Troops rushed into Glasgow and were pelted with stones. Scores of protesters were arrested and held without trial, including most of the active weavers' leaders in Glasgow. But riots, attacks on factories and rumours of impending uprisings throughout the country continued.

By the end of March, there were stories of a plan to set Glasgow on fire and of 500 pikes ready for use in





■ Martyrs to a cause: the monument to John Baird and Andrew Hardie, who were executed for treason, in Glasgow's Sighthill Cemetery.

## The Radicals.

The whole proceedings of the Special Commission, which opened on Friday the 23rd of June, 1820, for the purpose of finding true bills of indictment against the Radical prisoners confined there under the charge of High Treason and Rebellion.

THE whole proceedings of the Special Commission, which opened on Friday the 23rd of June, 1820, for the purpose of finding true bills of indictment against the Radical prisoners confined there under the charge of High Treason and Rebellion.

from work and excited young men began to practice marching and drilling. A company of artillery was brought to the city and cannons placed on Jamaica Bridge.

In Paisley a group of radicals tried to collect guns from neighbouring farmers until one of their number was shot.

Military patrols were everywhere. In the evening, a meeting outside Strathaven called for people to be ready for revolution since peaceful petitioning had failed to get change. They expected to hear from the secret committee in Glasgow and it was reported that the plan was to attack the army garrisoned in the city on Thursday, April 5.

There was talk of anything from 5,000 to 7,000 radicals gathering on the Cathkin Braes to move into the city from the south and similar numbers to come from the Campsie weaving villages in the north.

Suitably encouraged, about a dozen set off from Strathaven to head towards Cathkin.

At East Kilbride they learned that the military were firmly in control of the city and some turned back. A hardy few, still clasping their banner declaring 'Scotland Free or a Desert', kept going to Cathkin but found none of the expected revolutionaries.

In Anderston, despite the patrols, young weaver radicals were able to get out their pikes and prepare for confrontation. The numbers were pathetically small. Meanwhile, reports began to circulate that the plan was to head along the Forth and Clyde Canal to Falkirk to seize the Carron Ironworks with its formidable 'Carronade' guns and where, it was rumoured, the workers were prepared to strike.

A main group from Anderston, led by Andrew Hardie, joined up with John Baird and a group of weavers from Condorrat near Cumbernauld.

They proceeded at a fairly leisurely pace in the rain, their ill-shod feet wet and blistered, stopping for breakfast at Castlecary Inn. After Castlecary a trooper came across them and galloped off to warn the garrison at Kilsyth.

By now the 'rebels' numbered just over 50 and at Bonnymuir they were confronted by a troop of Hussars rushed from Kilsyth. Four of the radicals were wounded and 47 taken prisoner. A sad collection of five muskets, two pistols and 18 pikes were all that was found on the battlefield.

In Glasgow, pike shafts were

quickly turned back into dyers' poles, pike heads thrown in the canal or reshaped. A force of Edinburgh police and yet more troops were sent to Glasgow, houses and weaving sheds were searched and £500 was offered for the names of the authors of the 'Address'. Hundreds were arrested and others fled.

Although the news of Bonnymuir quickly spread it did not quell agitation. On Saturday, reports that Paisley radical prisoners were to be moved to Greenock quickly brought a crowd together. They taunted the militia until the troops opened fire, killing three and wounding 18, of whom six later died, but the prisoners were freed.

In the following weeks there were sporadic outbreaks of protest and attacks on patrols, but the 'Radical War' was over.

The Government in London had little confidence that, in the light of earlier trial fiascos, the Scottish courts could or would deliver the necessary deterrent sentences and a

special commission using English laws of treason was appointed.

It permeated their stirring to Glasgow, to Strathaven, to Dumbarton, to Paisley and then to Ayr during June, sending 18 people answering for high treason although almost 40 had absconded.

In July, the main trials opened and while most received prison sentences or transportation, three were given the death penalty.

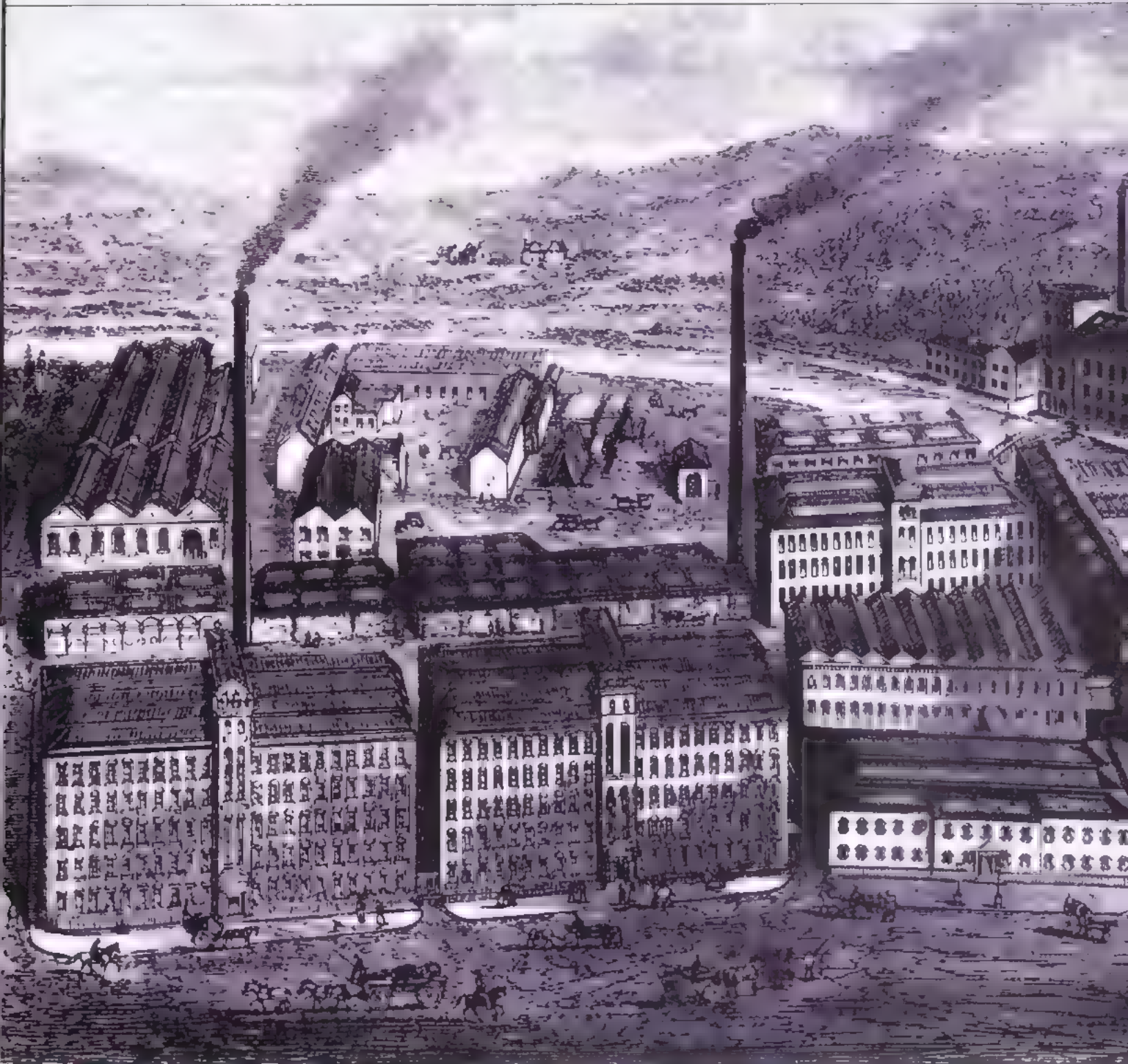
James Wilson, a long-time reformer, whose part in the Strathaven march had been limited, was hanged in Glasgow at the end of August before a crowd who muttered 'murder' as the executioner decapitated the body and held aloft 'the head of a traitor'.

Andrew Hardie and John Baird were executed at Stirling in September. Hardie declared: "I die a martyr to the cause of truth and liberty."

Never again was political anger and economic distress to drive so many to the verge of revolution. ●



# INDUSTRY MARCHES ON AT FEVER-PITCH



■ Hive of industry: huge factories like J & J Clarke's 'Anchor' threadworks at Paisley dominated the landscape in the late 19th century.



It was relentless and desperate, the country in its grip. But the 'Machine Age' was also creative and exciting...



In a glass case in a wooden church 20 miles north of Perm, where the Kama river flows out of the Urals, is a peasant girl's trousseau of the 1850s. The centrepiece is a shawl and its complex whorled pattern is unmistakable – Paisley.

Keep your eye on Paisley," Hussar once said, and in 1843 anxious worried politicians were just that. Paisley was the nearest Scotland got to the cottonopolis of Manchester. It had a specialised, heavily capitalised and unstable textile industry, and in 1843, when the situation in the cotton trade had Marx and Engels predicting a complete smash up, unemployment in Paisley got so bad that Sir Robert Peel's cabinet kept the local poor relief system going out of their own pockets. (Flashman fans will remember Hussar Harry, summoned north to help the workers, becoming involved with his insatiable Elsbeth and getting himself into the family of John Morrison, Lord Paisley.)

The year 1843 was a turning point. The Kirk split in the Disruption. A Poor Law reform would evict it from social policy and give Liberal Scotland a Tory-paternalist administration, which lasted for decades. But Brunel's Great Britain became the first iron screw-propelled ship to undertake the Atlantic run, and the Railway mania started to fulminate. Brunel ran things from Bristol and the mania had its vortex in the City of London, but both were to trigger a second industrial revolution in Scotland.

Paisley stuck to cotton, though by the 1860s shawls had given way to thread and the evolving near-world monopoly of Coates and Clark. But elsewhere on Victorian Clydeside the shift was from textiles to heavy engineering. The Scottish population, drawn from neighbouring counties, the Highlands, and increasingly Ireland, was already concentrating in the narrow 'Central Belt' and bringing angst to the old order.

The clergy who had compiled the Statistical Accounts in the 1790s and 1830s and the Scottish literati of the Enlightenment, had tried to promote 'improved' social development in agriculture and rural industries – given concrete expression in the settlements of which the most famous was David Dale's and Robert Owen's New Lanark.

Now they were faced with a fast-changing industrial landscape. The Napoleonic Wars had encouraged foundries and mines to open, and



■ Sir Charles Tennant was the moving force behind the Steel Company of Scotland, the forerunner of the modern steel industry.

the Scottish skill in civil engineering now shifted to mechanical engineering as steam horse-power overtook water-power in the 1820s. In 1829 a new, uncouth, but devastating literary voice announced:

*"The Age of Machinery, in every outward and inward sense of that word the age which with its whole undivided might, teaches and practises the great art of adapting means to ends... an every hand the living artisan is driven from his workshop, to make way for a speedier manimate one... even the horse is stripped of his harness, and finds a fleet fire horse yoked in his stead."*

Thomas Carlyle spoke, and dramatised increasingly desperate attempts to keep the lid on a low-paid, hard-drinking labour force, penned in tiny barrack-like flats and increasingly prone to mutiny as the economy became affected by cyclic depression.

The way out of this was a form of creative chaos. The power came from the mineral wealth of the

Monkland coal and-iron field, originally exploited to heat and power the cotton factories of the Glasgow Paisley conurbation and their associated chemical plants, such as the Tennant family's monstrous St Rollox works.

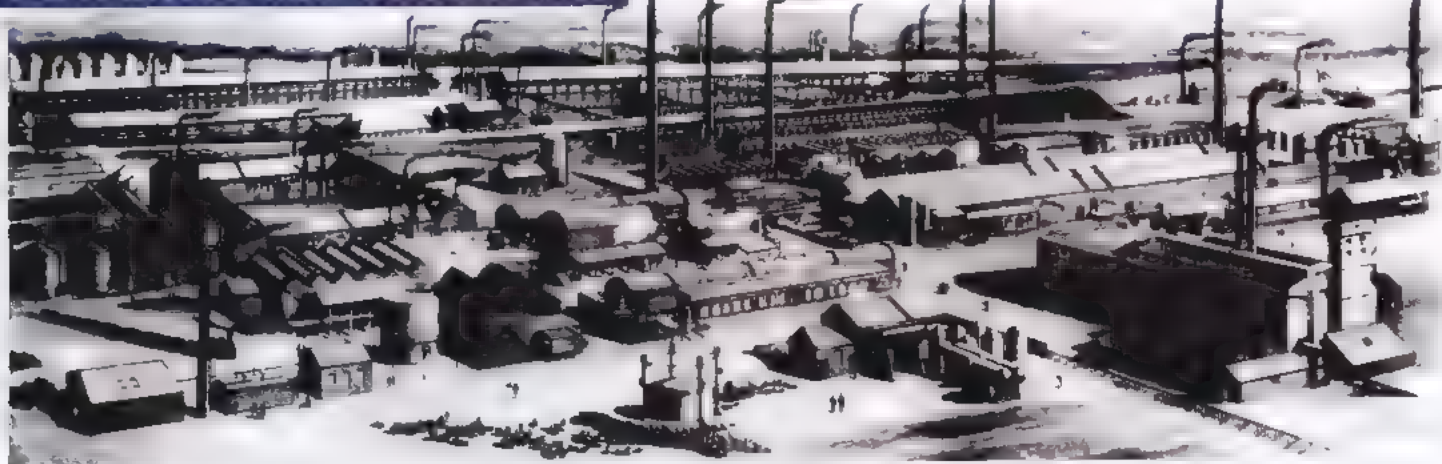
In the 1820s, James Beaumont Neilson perfected a way – the 'hot blast' – of smelting the 'blackband' ore of the district, and the result was a near Klondyke-like eruption of industrial activity.

More importantly, blackband yielded a type of iron which was particularly easily cast and machined to make cylinders and wheels.

Cue the railway revolution. D O Hill, of calotype photograph fame, recorded the Garnkirk and Glasgow's first train chuffing under the shadow of Tennant's Stalk.

Much of the capital for railway construction came from England, much of the labour from Ireland, but Glasgow used a growing reputation for engine-building which made it





## YOUNG'S PARAFFIN LIGHT & MINERAL OIL COMPANY, LIMITED. ADDIEWELL WORKS, WEST CALDER, SCOTLAND.

■ Explorer David Livingstone laid the foundation stone of James Young's West Lothian shale oil extraction works at Addiewell.

► one of the world's greatest railway centres. The city's works made one off steam engines for textile mills and ships. Locomotives followed, chiefly from the Springburn works of Neilson Reid, Sharp Stewart and the German Henry Dubs, and was soon extended to carriages and wagons, rails and the structural equipment for bridges and stations.

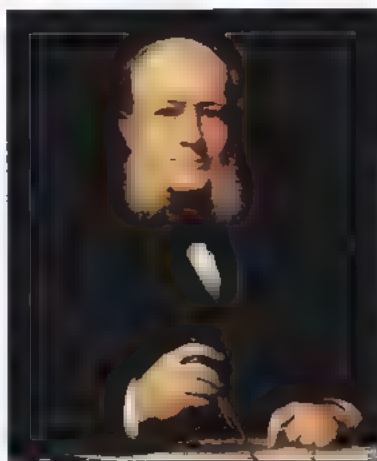
This success story didn't end with the creation of the railway network. In the 1850s and 1860s, Glasgow engine-builders set to work to overcome the great disadvantage of the steam engine at sea.

Even Brunel's Great Britain had boilers which could only produce steam from sea water at low pressures. This made its engines huge, low-powered and very inefficient, incapable of competing with the new part-iron-built 'clipper' ships, such as the famous Cutty Sark.

What was needed was a compact, high-pressure 'compound' engine which would condense its own 'fresh' water. By the 1860s, with the cooperation of the great scientist William Thompson (Lord Kelvin) at the University, the breakthrough had been made, and the result, an ordinary-looking screw steamer, the Greenock-built Agamemnon, set out in 1865 for the Far East.

Within 20 years, sail-power had been pushed into the margins of the merchant marine. This was Scotland's last but greatest – industrial breakthrough.

The country was fortunate in its timing as America was riven by the Civil War, which destroyed most of its merchant ships, and Germany was plunged into the wars of unification. The boost that the River



■ Sir William Siemens, inventor of the steel industry's gas-heated, open-hearth furnace.

Clyde gained lasted it until the eve of the outbreak of World War I.

In its wake, the iron industry of Lanarkshire was able to adapt to the age of steel, and Motherwell was developed by the local family of Colville into the Scottish equivalent of the Krupps' Essen, with batteries of Siemens open-hearth furnaces surrounded by rolling-mills, foundries, boiler and wagon works.

It wasn't all steam hammers and lathes – or Clydeside alone. Around the core industries clustered 'light' ancillaries – optics, gauges, pumps, plumbing, and a wealth of luxury trades that went into fitting out 'hotel ships' and the 'palaces on wheels' that first class rail passengers expected.

One inward-investment coup was the Singer sewing-machine factory at Clydebank, another was the North British Rubber Company in Edinburgh.

As steam moved into the countryside, smaller towns had their foundries and engineering works to

serve the 'muckle firms', or the increasingly steam-powered fishing fleet. But the basic business unit remained the family firm or partnership. Up to 1900 there were few of today's joint-stock companies about, and very few indeed outside the railway and bank sectors.

The controllers of this new wealth were unsentimental about the past. The Dukes of Hamilton allowed mining entrepreneurs to scoop the coal out from under their vast classical palace at Hamilton, with the result that subsidence made it uninhabitable and it had to be demolished in the 1920s, its only relic a huge, echoing mausoleum.

Glasgow University shifted in the 1860s from its Scots Renaissance quadrangle – one of the finest works of the period – in the crumbling Medieval High Street to a grandiose Belgian-Gothic pile in the West End. The old quadrangle was flattened to make way for a railway goods' yard. Like other 'railway age' cities, Glasgow had more in common with its Atlantic contemporaries – Cardiff, Barcelona, the Eastern seaboard towns of the USA and a parallel often invoked – Chicago.

The Clydeside elite were also unsentimental about their own society. Despite the fact that they relied essentially on the work of skilled men operating with equipment which was otherwise pretty primitive, labour relations were sulphurous, and long-term research and development distinctly patchy.

The owners, often themselves from working-class backgrounds, had to struggle with low profit-margins and a great deal of instability.

Glasgow suffered two catastrophic

bank crashes in the 1850s and 1870s, and a brief but disturbing depression in 1906-08.

Investment in property and overseas often seemed more reliable than the sort of painstaking and lengthy experimentation that was to usher in the chemical, automobile and electrical industries of Germany and America.

Foreign investment and emigration – Scotland was really the only nation in Europe which experienced industrialisation and a high level of emigration (in most countries the second preceded the first) – could aid native industries.

African or South American steamer, railway or mineral companies tended to order from home, and the 'Scotch engineer' on hand in every port and coaling-station became a feature of the world of writers such as Rudyard Kipling and Joseph Conrad. But continuity depended on investment being Scots-controlled and committed to industrial goals, and the elite was tending to go south, or into politics and generally rising in the world.

World War One, which showed the Scots managers – Tory leader Andrew Bonar Law and his cohorts of Weirs, Geddeses, Lithgows taking over the British state, also resulted in the selling-off of many banks, steamer companies and overseas firms.

Just when the dynamo and the internal-combustion engine served notice on steam, the capacity to plan and manage economic change drastically diminished. ●



# Spider-web of rails arrive at the toot



■ All aboard: a short stretch of the old Highland Railway between Aviemore and Boat of Garten has been turned into a popular tourist attraction.

**General Johnny Cope would have seen the first wagon rails at Cockenzie as he sprinted from Prestonpans in 1745. But the railway build-up came slowly, then at the spurt as the 'railway races' hit Scotland**

**T**he Hanoverian infantrymen may have wondered, while dodging claymores, what the rails and little trucks were doing there, in the fields by Prestonpans. On September 21, 1745, General John Cope positioned his cannon along the embankment of Scotland's first railway, the Tranent and Cockenzie Wagonway — only to be overwhelmed by the ferocity of the Jacobite charge which installed Charles Edward at Holyroodhouse.

The wagonway had already been there for 13 years to carry coal to the harbour and salt-pans, built as part of a South Sea Bubble speculation called the York Buildings Company.

It was narrow gauge — 3ft 3ins probably because its trucks were pushed by hand into the mines.

Over the decades after Culloden, further railways of this sort were built to connect mines to the Forth

Estuary, around Dunfermline, Alloa and Falkirk. Wooden rails gradually gave way to cast iron 'plates', but the Scots system was small compared with the ramifying colliery lines of Northumbria or the tramroads of South Wales.

Cue Robert Stevenson, grandfather of Robert Louis Stevenson and master lighthouse engineer. Stevenson built only one railway, the 'Innocent Railway' from Edinburgh to Dalkeith (1831) horse worked and so called because it didn't kill anyone. But he surveyed several projects, including in 1817 an ambitious horse-worked line from Glasgow via Lanark, Peebles and Kelso to Berwick. More importantly, he got the idea of the railway as an independent means of transport into print in Edinburgh's own Encyclopaedia Britannica.

Someone he thus inspired was the ►



■ A romanticised portrait of George Stephenson (seated) and his family — with a puffing coal train and reeking factories in the background.





■ **Spanning Ayr:** David Octavius Hill's vision of the Ballochmyle Viaduct over the River Ayr on the Glasgow and South-Western line.

► Britannica's Charles MacLaren, also editor of *The Scotsman*, who was seeing it as early as 1823 as a world-changing instrument, equally effective in peace and war.

The Scots lines actually built were modest. The first Scots railway act authorised a cast-iron tramway which connected Kilmarnock with Troon. Opened in 1812, an attempt to work it with a locomotive failed when it crashed through its cast iron track. On Stevenson's advice, wrought iron was used a decade later for the Monkland and

Kirkcaldy line from the booming coalfields to the Forth and Clyde Canal, but only in 1831 was the first locomotive-worked line, the Garnkirk and Glasgow, opened.

By 1840 there was a small but growing network of such mineral lines in Lanarkshire, built to the 'Scotch Gauge' of 4ft6ins (two-and-a-half inches narrower than George Stephenson's gauge), the Innocent Railway, and the rural Dundee and Newtyle.

But at the same time the English network was booming. The Liverpool

and Manchester of 1830 with its revolutionary 'Rocket' was connected to London in 1838 by the Grand Junction and London and Birmingham lines.

On their model came the first large-scale Scots projects, from Glasgow to Kilmarnock, Ayr, Greenock and, in 1842, Edinburgh. After some rationalisation, a lot of sharp practice, and increasingly crazy speculation, a massive construction boom began.

In 1848 this crossed the Border. Robert Stephenson, son of George,

built the North British and York, Newcastle and Berwick lines up the East Coast, and Joseph Locke took the Lancaster and Carlisle and Caledonian over the summits of Shap and Beattock of the West.

This meant the immediate end of the 'Scotch gauge', but it brought a rather awkward system. The only junction between the western and eastern routes was Motherwell, from where the Scottish Central ran to the Edinburgh and Glasgow at Castlecary, Perth and Dundee. The north was reached from Edinburgh





via ferries across the Forth and Tay, which were made to carry trucks by the ingenious Thomas Bouch. In 1851, looking at an immense North British excursion train steaming over the Royal Border Bridge en route to the Crystal Palace, Haddington's own Samuel Smiles marvelled at 'the cementing of the Union'. Radical medic turned railway company secretary, and Britain's first industrial historian, Smiles would laud the engineer as the modern hero demanded by Thomas Carlyle.

Pretty soon the Scots were

hammering on the doors of this pantheon.

Innovation tended at first to come from the South – from the engine shops of Manchester and Newcastle. But by the middle of the 1830s, Glasgow's general engineers, building textile and marine engines, were turning to railways, and after the 1860s Springburn, in particular, became Britain's locomotive metropolis, supplying every sort of engine, from the little 'pugs' which shunted trucks at collieries and tiny narrow-gauge engines (such as those



■ The Ballochmyle Viaduct is beginning to take shape in the late 1840s.

which still run on the Darjeeling Himalaya Railway) to massive compound-articulated freight engines for India and South America.

The crack designers – ferocious, bearded men like Patrick Stirling, the Drummond brothers, and J F MacIntosh – were household names and their creations, the Great Northern's 'single drivers', the Caley's 'Cardeans' and 'Dunalastairs' were the stuff of prints, cigarette cards and models (though the last were, ominously, 'Made in Germany').

What effect did all this technical advance have? It would be a mistake to exaggerate the 'democratising' impact: right up to World War One, most people walked to work from their warren-like tenements, and poor people were likely to suffer rather than benefit from the driving of the railways into the city centres.

In Scotland, however, railways catered for the third class passenger long before their English counterparts, who usually confined cheap fares to one (very slow) train a day. It's possible that the flexible 'can do' attitude of the Scottish artisans, who carried through the modernisation of shipbuilding and engineering between 1850 and 1880, had a lot to do with this improved mobility, while the huge works outings arranged by train were a 'paternalist' way of

promoting order, dress and discipline.

The railways mainly hauled coal relatively short distances from mines to ironworks, ports or depots. Otherwise, the early breakthrough was in 'live meat', as the weight of cattle and sheep didn't diminish during rail transit. So the system was initially biased to the countryside.

Huge and (by our standards) hopelessly uneconomic networks ramified in the Borders and the North-East. It took longer to push the iron road into the Highlands. It was the 1870s before the Highland got to Wick, the 1880s before the Caledonian reached Oban, the 1900s before the North British reached Mallaig.

But the opening up of the Highlands proved a huge boost to high grade tourism. As the 'Twelfth' approached, the well-off would hire 'family saloon' carriages from practically every English company, which converged on the Perth Inverness line, en route to shooting lodges and hotels.

The growth of this traffic from the 1860s on, and the opening of a third cross-Border route, the Midland from St Pancras via Sheffield, Leeds, Carlisle and Hawick or Kilmarnock to the central belt – with third class on every train and its huge American style Pullman Cars – made the ▶





■ Railhead Glasgow: it's all activity around the railway line at Garnkirk's Townhead terminus next to the Monkland Canal in 1838.

## In the 1890s Glasgow boasted a rail system of world-class dimensions

- Anglo-Scottish run very big business indeed

Despite a setback when Thomas Bouch's badly-constructed Tay Bridge collapsed in 1879, there was a strong northward movement in business, politics and culture Gladstone winning the Midlothian election in 1880, annual politicians' pilgrimages to 'the Widow' at Balmoral, and great exhibitions in Glasgow and Edinburgh

Up front were the 'Railway Races to the North' after the massive Forth Bridge opened in 1890, but the railways also began to mechanise city life. Suburban trains weren't new in America and Australia there were often suburban railways before there were cities, let alone suburbs, but the small but affluent Scots middle class could afford the fares, in its quest for space and health

Glasgow had a system of world-class dimensions, taking in much of the Clyde estuary and entering the city by two steam worked underground lines (a cable driven tube followed in the 1890s)

Edinburgh had its Leith and Barnton lines to Princes Street station and its suburban circle to Waverley. Even Aberdeen had a

Dyce-Culls shuttle. This zenith was short lived, however By 1900 the electric tramcar with its cheapness and convenient city centre stops was biting into its traffic

Then came war and huge rises in freight, forced inland by U-boat raids on coastal ships. To supply the Dreadnought bases at Invergordon and Scapa, long distance trains thundered through the Highland night.

Munitions works opened up in the countryside, one of the largest being on the Anglo Scottish frontier at Gretna – also the scene of the worst-ever disaster on Britain's railways, when 227 soldiers met their deaths in a collision and fire on May 22, 1915

Scots engines could be found behind every front line – the North British goods engine 'Maude', now with the Scottish Railway Preservation Society at Bo'ness, ended up at Baghdad

The greatest of the pre-war railway managers, George Watsons-educated Eric Geddes, who had 'Americanised' the North-Eastern, became Britain's first Minister of Transport

He proposed in 1921 the creation



■ The first horse-drawn trains came long before steam locomotives, but by 1852 Tallis's railway map showed many steam train lines in place.

of a separate Scottish Railway Company. But the Scots, trade unionists as well as businessmen, wouldn't have it

They realised that the system was as run-down as the economy, and facing new competition

In 1923 the Caley, South-Western, Highland, North British and Great North vanished, with

their distinctive liveries, and the red LMS and green LNER took over.

Three years later, in May, 1926, steam-powered Scotland came out on strike, but the new motorised competitor kept the place running.

Gresley Pacifics and Coronation Scots notwithstanding, the reign of the railway was coming to an end. ●



# A nightmare world in the Empire's workshop



■ This workshop scene at the end of the 19th century shows how these sweater-making textile workers were under the closest of supervision.

**Vast fortunes were being made by the few, but the lot of most workers was disgraceful as the juggernaut of industry simply rolled over them**

**V**ictorian industry prospered and made fortunes for some. But there was a downside to Scotland's place as 'Workshop of the Empire'. By the time of the Great Exhibition in 1851 the British economy, despite experiencing uncontrolled booms and slumps, was the most successful in the world, and as yet little affected by foreign competition from potentially powerful rivals like Germany or the United States.

For several decades after, and in the case of some industries until

World War One, British manufacturers, many originating in Scotland, dominated world markets.

Apart from agriculture, still a major employer, Scotland's contribution was through a series of closely-related heavy, or 'smoke-stack' industries – coal, iron and steel, engineering, shipbuilding and chemicals – while longer established industries like textiles continued to be important in towns like Dundee, Dunfermline and Paisley.

While in some respects this could be regarded as a branch economy of

England, Scottish industry in the Victorian era had a geographical concentration and commonality of interest that earned the industrial Lowlands and Clydeside in particular the title 'Workshop of the Empire'.

Thus great workshop made rich those men (rarely women) who not only owned the iron works, foundries, shipyards and factories, but also the banks, insurance, investment and shipping companies that serviced them.

They prospered and this prosperity was reflected in their ►





■ Misery at work and at home for workers. This 19th century tenement block was in Glasgow's High Street.

► Lavish lifestyles in the new suburbs growing up beyond the squalor of the old cities and town centres, such as the West End of Glasgow or the Victorian villas of the Clyde resorts, by then easily reached by train or steamer. Even the more modest villa was invariably staffed by several domestic servants, whose conditions were hardly better than those of the plantation slaves in the American South.

More generally, the ostentation of the rich had its downside, which like many scenes in the third world today, could hardly be ignored by anyone who came into contact with

the mines and factories or the towns and villages surrounding them.

Someone who looked more closely than most was the pioneer industrial correspondent of *The Scotsman*, David Bremner, who travelled round in the 1860s gathering material for a series of articles published in his paper (and eventually as a book) on Scottish industry. What he saw made shocking reading and helped draw public attention to the often deplorable conditions of workers.

Visiting Coatbridge, a sprawling frontier town built around the iron works of the Monklands district, Bremner saw at night the sky lit up

by no fewer than 50 blast furnaces and, by day, despite mechanisation of some of the processes, the heavy and relentless labour endured by workers.

The 16 furnaces owned by leading ironmasters, the Bards, employed alone 3,200 men and boys who thanks to the religious inclinations of their employers, were sure of leisure at least one day a week.

Incidentally, when James Burns stood for parliament in Coatbridge in 1868, he was elected by a large majority.

Some towns were worse than others, mining being consistently

'It's work for horses. It ruins women, bends ankles and they are old at 40'

had due to the inherent dangers of roof falls, flooding and accidents with machinery or coal fires.

Parliamentary commissioners reported shocking conditions. In some collieries in the Lothians children of 11 were working from 5 am to 5 pm, carrying a hundred weight of coals in water up to their calves.

One girl at Edmonstone pit, Midlothian, had begun work as a 10 year old and worked 12 to 14 hours a day carrying coals, for which her father got 12 shillings a fortnight. "Lassies hate the work", she said. "It is ower sair for femaes".

"The work is only horse work," said another woman. "It ruins the women, it crushes their haunches, bends their ankles and makes them old at 40".

Small boys as young as five would sit all day in the darkness, cold and shivering. They were mainly employed to open and close the trap doors, as coal bearers, like the women and girls who testified to government enquiries, came and went from the pit face to the shaft bottom. Girls as well as boys would be punished if they fell asleep or ran away.

Even after the invention of the safety lamp, mining accidents caused by gas were common. One of the worst disasters of this kind resulted from a catastrophic explosion at Blantyre colliery in October, 1877, when 207 miners lost their lives.

Press reports and engravings recorded the awful scenes at the pithead as calls went out for volunteers to join the rescue party. The disaster is remembered by a memorial near the church in High Blantyre.

Even worse, in some ways, were the conditions in related industries, where long hours exposed workers to dangerous processes. Textile mills, print and dye works had a reputation, as their owners managed to hold out against under-regulation and limits on working hours.

Sometimes, as in cotton, linen or jute mills, the machinery would be speeded up or workers would be given more machines to operate, which sometimes led to accidents.



mutilation and even disablement with little compensation

Long hours were common in most trades, offset sometimes by irregularity and legislation which tried to enforce shorter working hours

Miners in the Lothians worked a five-day week in 1840, but the length of the shift varied from eight to 12 hours, and an 18 hour stretch was not uncommon. In Fife, collieries hours averaged 10 until 1870, thereafter 8½. Miners in Lanarkshire generally worked a five day week, the average hours being 10 a day. Some collieries worked double shifts

Added to the realities of long hours, adverse conditions, and ever-present danger, was the fact that wages were lower than in many other parts of Britain. Indeed, Scotland's industrial success in the Victorian era was built on a low wage economy. The Wage Census of 1886 seemed to confirm this because government statisticians calculated that in few industries was the Scottish figure above the average for the rest of the country

Attempts at betterment came from three sides – parliament which, under the Liberals and within limits, favoured reform; philanthropic employers; and the workers themselves. The first significant Factory Acts, establishing a factory inspectorate, came in the 1830s

The work of the inspectors and publicists like Bremner, gradually brought improvements, with new legislation offering greater protection to women, children and workers generally. Slowly laws sought to clarify working hours, holidays, rates of pay and limit the employers' practice of 'ruck' – paying wages in kind (often with inferior goods) rather than cash

There were some among the



■ Coates Memorial Church, Paisley, was built by the philanthropic Coates family, kings of the thread industry, in a community gesture.

Victorian industrialists who continued in the tradition of Robert Owen at New Lanark. His successors there, the Walkers and then the Barkmires, who ran the Gourrock Ropework Co (confusingly in Port Glasgow, not Paisley), were

As a result of the thread industry, but used its wealth to endow the town with public buildings, including the fine Coates Memorial church, schools and recreational facilities

Skilled workers, like the engineers, got themselves organised in craft unions and by the 1870s and 80s trade unionism was extending rapidly in the mines, mills and railways

The labour movement, thanks partly to the third Reform Act in 1884, which extended the franchise more widely, was able to influence liberal opinion in favour of further

reform in the workplace

But as the great mining leaders found Alexander McDonald and Keir Hardie – it was hard to put workers and their families through strikes, lock-outs and unemployment

And even in the worst of times, folk still had pride in themselves and their labour. There were many contradictions in the 'Workshop of the Empire'. Employers controlled an economy which was bringing rising living standards for some, but at a high cost in lives and limbs to others who toiled to bring this about

Moreover, there is some evidence to suggest that business leaders failed to respond to changes in technology, management and labour relations, creating a situation that led to the long term decline of the industries that had made Scotland such a powerful engine of the Empire ●

## TIMELINE

**1787**

The young Walter Scott meets Robert Burns at Sciennes in Edinburgh.

**1814**

Scott's historical novel *Waverley* is published anonymously.

**1816-20**

The 'Radical War' breaks out over parliamentary reform and economic conditions.

**1822**

Scott stages an ostentatious welcome to George IV in Edinburgh.

**1828**

James Beaumont Neilson's Hot Blast Process revolutionises the iron industry.

**1831**

Robert Stevenson builds horse-worked 'innocent railway' from Edinburgh to Dalkeith.

**1832**

Scott works himself to death in a heroic effort to pay off his debts.

**1843**

Paisley pattern is unmistakable as the town becomes the 'cottonopolis' of Scotland.

**1840**

Work begins on John Morvo's massive Gothic fantasy tribute to Scott.

**1841**

Statistics show tens of thousands of Irish immigrants living in Scotland.

**1850**

Unrestrained capitalism and awful conditions earn Scotland the 'Workshop of Empire' tag.

**1851**

Samuel Smiles marvels at the 'cementing of the Union' caused by the railways.

## BOY (12) LOSES A LIMB IN GREENHEAD PIT ACCIDENT

Hugh Walker, aged 12, a hewer's mate at Greenhead Pit No 2, had been cutting down a steep and had fired a shot, but the detached mass did not all come down.

He then commenced removing some coal from the hanging stone, when it suddenly came away and fell upon the lad. One of the limbs had to be amputated...

It is another of the too frequent accidents

from coal wagons. It is hoped an investigation will be made into the cause of the accident, for it is certainly high time that more children were prevented from following an occupation dangerous enough to the strongest and most experienced men.

*Wishaw Press, July 23, 1870*



## IRISH INFLUX



Hoping for the best, an Irish immigrant in the East learned to do  
in search of a better life. It did not take long for these aspirations to  
be shattered as the Irish workers found themselves excluded from the



# A WELCOME OF HATE FOR THE IRISH SETTLERS

They were broke, starving, jobless. All they sought was a better life in Scotland. But the flames of sectarianism were quickly stoked

**T**he Irish Catholic ancestry of many Scots remains a topical issue. Glasgow's football culture provides us with regular reminders of the deep-seated nature of working class sectarianism, but, as recent debates about the anti-Catholicism in Scottish society have shown, the issues run wider than that. The roots of this aspect of Scottish culture lie deep in history and are bound up with Ireland's own tangled traditions.

During the 19th century, thousands of Irish workers flocked into the expanded centres of Scottish industry.

Scotland eventually developed an Irish-born population that, in proportional terms, was far more important than its equivalent in England and Wales.

The Irish-born population of England and Wales and Scotland, in 1841 1911 looked like this

	SCOTLAND		ENGLAND & WALES	
		%		%
1841	126 321	4.8	289 404	1.8
1851	207 367	7.2	519 959	2.9
1861	204 083	6.7	601 634	3.0
1871	207 770	6.2	566 540	2.5
1881	218 745	5.9	562 374	2.2
1891	194 807	4.8	458 315	1.6
1901	205 064	4.6	426 565	1.3

Glasgow was to become the focus of the Irish settlement, with around 10 per cent of all the Irish born in Britain in the middle of the century. But this was not simply a big city settlement.

The outlying towns and villages of Lanarkshire and Ayrshire also attracted a large number of settlers from Erin's isle.

Edinburgh, Leith and every town in the central belt from the Forth to the Clyde developed an association

with these immigrant workers.

Irish labourers quested as far north as Aberdeen in search of work. Further south, on Tayside, the Dundee flax and jute mills attracted one of Scotland's highest proportional Irish populations, the majority of whom were female textile workers.

Many of the Scots Irish were poor and desperate refugees from a rack-renting, hard-bitten economic environment that offered few prospects for improvement.

Some were skilled workers, valued as human capital, although shipbuilders, blacksmiths, masons, clerics and even the odd captain of industry, were lost in the sea of opprobrium that swamped paupers and famine victims.

While Scotland, by virtue of its close cultural and geographical links with Ulster, attracted far more Protestant Irish settlers than any other part of the British Isles, it was

the Catholicism of the majority which did most to influence Scottish views of the immigrants.

A small but vibrant community in the Western Highlands and Islands had long provided Catholicism's greatest security in Scotland, but it was the huge influx of Irish Catholics that transformed the faith. The needs of Irish Catholics, for example, led to a massive urban church-building programme in this period, and from that foundation emerged a vibrant social and spiritual Catholicism.

The arrival of so many Catholics also stoked up ancient anti-Catholic sentiments in Scotland. As in other parts of the Protestant world, Irish settlers in Scotland met with hostile responses, not least from the established church. Echoes of this live on in Scottish culture today.

Although many Irish harvesters came to Scotland looking for seasonal labour, the salient feature of ►



■ Glasgow Celtic and Edinburgh's Hibernian football clubs are direct Scottish links with the influx of Irish emigrants in the 19th century.





■ Irish workers and their families in Glasgow's Saltmarket as photographed by Thomas Annan in 1868.

► Irish migration to Scotland at this time was its permanence. The Irish-born population grew rapidly in the 18th century as labour supply matched the rhythms of industrial demand, and was well spread throughout the south western counties of Wigtownshire.

Kirkcubrightshire, Ayrshire, Lanarkshire and Renfrewshire.

Like all immigrants, these Irish brought with them a distinctive cultural baggage, most notably the Orange Order. The first lodge north of the Border appeared in Maybole, Ayrshire, in 1799 or 1800, with soldiers returning from Ireland after the 1798 rising and incoming Ulster

weavers providing the initial impetus. Important Orange traditions also developed in Wigtown, Tarbolton, Airdrie, Beith, Kilmarnock, Ardrossan, Port Glasgow and other places on the Clyde.

The most densely packed Irish born populations outside Glasgow were to be found in textile towns such as Maybole. In 1831 another Ayrshire town, Girvan, had a population of 6,430, three-quarters of which was Irish-born. Most of these were employed as handloom weavers, outworking for Glasgow merchants.

In Kilmarnock (which between 1831 and 1841 grew from 12,768 to

18,093), a large numbers of Irish migrants worked as labourers, stones-breakers and weavers.

At the turn of the century, then, migration patterns were beginning to solidify with growing towns attracting increasing waves of Irish. Central Scotland rapidly became one of the most heavily industrialised regions in the world, and Irish labour was drawn in by the availability of steady work in the most unpleasant industries such as salt works, hewing and factories.

This period also saw the development of a system of affected income tax which

most notably in hewing, where Irish workers were often restricted to less well paid surface work.

According to a fascinating recent study of the Irish in the West of Scotland suggests these early settlers gradually to break the

Irish hold on hewing, and terms such as 'swarming' and 'herding' were commonplace in the 1830s as Scots sought to describe

the expanding Irish immigration. An already deep-seated hostility was enormously increased by the desperate immigration of the Great Famine era (1845-51).

Although the poor of Ire and were suffering an unimaginable calamity,



## Disease and death among the poor migrants merely hardened attitudes

Herald showed bitter indignation in describing the effects of the great port city of the streets of Glasgow", it wrote, "are at present literally swarming with poor vagrants from the sister kingdom, and the misery of these can scarcely be less than what they have fled or been driven from at home."

Religious passions were also fomenting with the age-old spectre of 'Popery' raised in explanation of the Irish influx. Indeed, the city's Witness newspaper went as far as to blame the very famine itself on 'a religion of dependency and indigence'.

The 33,267 Irish who landed in Glasgow between June and September, 1847, were without exception either wholly dependent upon charitable help or 'in the last stages of wretchedness'.

Disease, and with it death, had become a part of Glasgow migrant stream and, as elsewhere, this hardened public opinion, from a position of pity or sympathy to one of fear and worse.

Between 1845 and 1846 there was a doubling of the death rate in Glasgow. Whereas the cholera outbreak of 1832 had claimed 3,005 Glaswegian victims, the same disease carried off more than 2,300 in December of 1847 alone.

The poor rate rose in line with the increased burden of Irish paupers and the spread of disease among the poor. Critics blamed the Irish, but the medical inspectors were more concerned at "Those frightful abodes of human wretchedness which lie along the High Street, Saltmarket, and Bridgegate - the bulk of that district known as the Wynds and Closes of Glasgow" [where] all sanitary evils exist in perfection."

The famine transformed the size and nature of Irish immigration to Scotland and intensified negative reactions to it.

Coming on top of growing tensions between workers in the Hungry Forties, anti-Irish feeling was increased still further by the establishment in 1850 of the Orange Hierarchy in England (what the London Times dubbed the 'Papal Invasion'). The Orange Order sent Scots Protestants to the streets with drums and bands of fear. Thousands of meetings were held in Glasgow, and the streets were as well as large

towns. The fires of sectarianism were kept alive by a thriving trade in trash novels, penny song-sheets, handbills, and in periodicals with apt titles like *The Buiwark* and the *Reformation Journal*.

Reactions to the Irish immigration of the 1840s and 1850s melted into the innate anti-Catholicism of Scots Calvinist traditions. Although the Church of Scotland expended much of its energy battling with the dissenting traditions after the disruption of 1843, anti-Catholicism had a remarkable galvanising effect on ordinary Scots workers who lived cheek-by-jowl with the Irish.

Such men and women became particularly susceptible to the wild and intemperate ranting of 'no popery' lecturers such as John Sayers Orr, the self-styled 'Archangel Gabriel'.

As the historian, James E. Handley, stated, Orr had a fancy for dressing up in the style of "pious warriors" letting his arms sweep down over his shoulders and summoning his audiences with blasts of his trumpet."

On 12 July, 1851, in response to the 'Papal Aggression', the Archangel Gabriel's denagoguery led to Greenock's Catholic chapel house being attacked by a mob. As the rioting unfolded, the 'Archangel Gabriel' ascended from the trouble and flew from the town. But he re-appeared in Edinburgh, Dundee, Liverpool and New York, where he addressed crowds of up to 10,000.

Other methods, non-violent but nonetheless offensive, were also put to work against poor Irish Catholics. The Rev Patrick McMenemy, of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland, was typical of a breed of maverick Irish clerics who came to known trouble spots in Britain to ply an evangelising trade.

McMenemy arrived in Edinburgh in 1848 and established a proselytising mission. His Irish preachers forced their way into the homes of the poor Irish of the Grassmarket, West Port and Cowgate in order to read them scripture in the Irish tongue.

Some element of the violence was wholly imported and enacted by Irish on Irish.

The Orange Order remained resolutely an Irish organisation in 19th-century Scotland and its marches and meetings, which grew rapidly in the post-famine years, did much to instil a Belfast-style culture



■ An Irish emigrants' ship loads up at White Star Wharf, Queenstown, as Irish workers escape from the misery of life at home in Ireland.

of sectarianism into Scottish life. Scottish anti-Catholicism, then, was both Scots and Irish.

Such antipathy, fuelled by the famine immigration, was much exacerbated by the Fenian activities of the 1860s. The Fenians were somewhat akin to the modern-day IRA in their willingness to use violence to progress claims for a free Ireland. With bombings and raids on arsenal, prisons and other public official property, the Fenians' episodes of 1867-8, ending with several executions and a failed rising in Ireland, whipped up negative reactions both sides of the Border.

Even after the initial Fenian threat had subsided, there continued to be ample fuel for the fires of sectarianism.

An Orange versus-Green mentality had become firmly and inextricably enmeshed within Scots culture by the 1850s, and it became stronger for generations thereafter.

Riots occurred periodically in the 1870s and 1880s. The most serious

occurrence exploded on the citizens of Partick in August, 1875, during centenary celebrations for the hero of Catholic Emancipation and the early Irish Home Rule movement, Daniel O'Connell.

A great fight occurred between Home Rulers and Orangemen, with men and women alike joining the melee. It took days for order to be restored.

The Restoration of the Papal Hierarchy in Scotland in 1878 offered further encouragement to Orange and Green protagonists to fight over dead kings and live popes.

They were resolutely divided on political issues, most notably Home Rule for Ireland, and continued to squabble about education and religious practice until long after the Second World War. Indeed, only in Canada and Liverpool would sectarianism scorch ordinary lives as it did in Scotland - but nowhere else, save in Ulster, have the embers glowed so long. ■



# The city of roses and black, black oil

Aberdeen has always had the capacity to survive even though the hellfire of Piper Alpha is scorched into its memory

■ Flashback: the picture that recalls the great days of steam trawlers in Aberdeen harbour, when trawler owners lived in baw houses and smoked cigars.



Aberdeen is a city of granite and roses – and oil. The granite has always been there, but the city's metamorphosis to Rose City came when David Welch, then director of leisure and recreation, smothered it in flowers. He was dubbed the Rose Crusader by the British Association of Rose Growers.

The city's parks are said to be among the most beautiful in Britain, and roses predominate. They bloom in the Duthie Park, whose Winter Gardens are world famous, and in Hazlehead, the city's largest park.

By an odd coincidence, Hazlehead once belonged to a family called Rose, who were prominent ship owners. The founder of the family, William Rose, lived in a mansion house at Hazlehead from 1775 to 1834.

Today, his estate is in the hands of Aberdeen City Council and the rose gardens are its main attraction. One of them is The Queen Mother's Rose Garden, laid out to commemorate her 80th birthday and formally opened by her on October 23, 1980.

On the rising ground beyond the rose garden are the fairways of Hazlehead golf course. From them, you look down across the spires and rooftops of the city to Aberdeen Bay, busy with the coming and going of sea traffic.

In March, 1882, an old wooden clinker built paddle tug called the Toiler left the harbour and butted her way across the bay – sailing into history as Aberdeen's first steam

trawler. Almost ready for the scrapheap, she had been converted by a group of Aberdeen businessmen who saw money-making potential in the fishing industry. On the first trip the Toiler returned to port with three boxes of haddock.

The Toiler had a good start (the haddock sold for 10 pence), but it had shown that trawling could bring rich dividends to the owners. Before long, Aberdeen's trawler kings had money in the bank and posh houses in the city's west end. They wore bowler hats and liked a good cigar and their sweethearts were dressed in sealskins and gaudy hats.

In 1933 there were 3,000 fishermen on 300 trawlers in the port. Half a century later the trawler fleet had gone into decline and the majority of the inshore fleet had moved to Peterhead. By 1998 Aberdeen had regained its position as Scotland's second fishing port, beating Fraserburgh back into third place. Peterhead was still in front.

But in the fishing fleet's lean years the sea had been yielding up a different harvest – oil.

In November, 1970, BP struck oil 110 miles east of Aberdeen. In November, 1975, the Queen pressed a button at BP's Dyce headquarters which put the whole BP Forties oil system into operation.

Simultaneously an electronic signal opened a valve at the Grangemouth gas separation plant and sent the first Forties oil into the refinery.

Oil was king. Bulky oil supply

ships crowded the quays and out in the bay you could see the oil rigs silhouetted against the horizon, making their way to the oil fields.

In the late 1980s, when oil prices dropped and there were fears that the oil bubble might burst, the rigs lay idle in the bay, waiting to go to the breaker's yards. It never happened. The boom was on the way back and the rigs returned to work.

In one of the rose gardens at Hazlehead there is a large granite monument with three sculpted figures of oil men on top. It is an impressive tableau, conjuring up a name that still haunts the people of Aberdeen – Piper Alpha.

The Occidental platform Piper Alpha lay 120 miles off-shore in the North Sea. On July 6, 1988, it exploded. A great ball of fire was thrown into the air, signalling the start of the world's first offshore disaster.

That night, people living near Aberdeen Royal Infirmary were kept awake by the drone of helicopters circling overhead and dropping down on the landing pad in the hospital grounds. They were bringing back the dead and the dying, and the injured. The toll was 167 dead, with many injured, some severely burned.

For many of the survivors their agony had just begun. They had to deal with psychological problems that would linger on long after the Piper Alpha had gone. They had to relive their nightmare when an official inquiry was held in Aberdeen



■ The moving Piper Alpha memorial in Hazlehead Park.

the following year. It lasted 188 days. Men described in long and painful detail what had happened, how they had escaped the inferno by leaping into the blazing sea, swimming for their lives.

The Piper Alpha memorial, commissioned by the families of those lost on the rig, was unveiled by the Queen Mother in 1991.

A small granite plaque at the entrance to the garden describes the memorial and explains the names on the plinth. Only 61 men were rescued from the platform. On the south face of the plinth above a





Celtic cross are the names of 'thirty men with no resting place on shore'. A casket of unknown ashes is interred beneath the cross.

Early in April, 1989, explosive charges were fixed to the metal spars and the skeleton of the ill fated Piper Alpha slipped under the water, out of sight.

When the Queen set the BP Forties oil system into operation in 1975, she said that the story of how North Sea oil was brought ashore was one of excitement and romance.

The Piper Alpha tragedy was a reminder that it was also a story of danger and, at times, tragedy.

The years have slipped away - and life goes on. The oil boats still crowd the quays, or push across the bay to deliver their weekly shopping lists to the oil fields - to Beryl and Mabel and Joanne and Josephine.

At the end of 1997, Grampian Enterprise, in a report entitled 'Oil 2000', calculated that the industry supported about 47,000 jobs in the area and that it would remain a significant component in the economy for the next 25 years.

The crystal ball tells conflicting tales. But the Granite City enters the 21st century with optimism.

The city is firmly established as an international oil centre and local based companies are exporting the expertise they learned in the North Sea to countries all over the world.

The canny Aberdonians, who have always 'known the right side of a penny' are reaching out with confidence to the new Millennium. ■

# HAVE YOU HEARD THE ONE ABOUT THOSE 'MEAN' ABERDONIANS?

**A**berdeen folk have always been thick-skinned. They became accustomed to people saying they were mean and tight-fisted. They shrugged off jokes about moths flying out of their sporrans and brushed aside stories about empty streets on a flag day (crowded street during house-to-house collections).

They always followed advice given in an old Aberdeen proverb: "If any man insults ye by offerin' ye a drink - swallow the insult."

No one knows who wrote the first 'mean Aberdonian' story. It was said that there was a joke factory where the staff worked day and night to produce an endless stream of 'mean' stories. There was a joke factory, and there still is one, doing a nice trade in fancy dress hire, wigs, tricks and streamers, but no one has ever accused it of turning Aberdeen into a city of misers.

Like Topsy, it was something that just grew. There was a spate of picture postcards showing 'tightfisted' Aberdonians counting their bawbees or scanning the pavements for carelessly-dropped threepenny bits.

This crude image of stinginess took a long time dying, for 60 years later the author Paul Theroux enraged the city by saying the thought of the average Aberdonian as "a person who would gladly pick a halfpenny out of a dunghill with his teeth."

Mean Aberdonian 'humour' reached its zenith in the 20s. There was an avalanche of books about Aberdeen's frugality. They had titles like 'Canny Tales fae Aberdeen', 'Hoots!' and 'The Aberdonian Jew'. For obvious reasons, the war brought a sudden end to jokes about Jews. But, hoots, mon, there were plenty of other stories to tell and it seemed as if everyone wanted to get in on the act, even some of Aberdeen's most prominent citizens.

The Granite City's most famous story-teller, rattling out jokes about the meanness of his

fellow-citizens, was its own Lord Provost, Sir James Taggart, who held the civic chair from 1914 to 1919. His greatest rival was the Marquis of Aberdeen.

The two distinguished jesters met several times on public platforms to battle it out for the title of Aberdeen's top storyteller.

There was another Lord Provost who was also said to be a 'facetious fellow'.

He was Sir Thomas Mitchell, who held office from 1938 till 1947. Tommy Mitchell, a baker to trade, was the prototype of

and one local man made a career out of it - Aberdeen's home-grown comedian - Harry Gordon, the Laird of Inversnecky.

Harry had a fund of stories about Aberdonians who were careful with their cash. For instance, the motorists who took every corner on two wheels because it saved wear on their tyres. Then there was the man who had a fondness for rubber because it gave!

There was also the story of the Aberdonian who went for a haircut: "Fit dae ye charge for a haircut?" he asked the barber.

"Eightpence," came the reply. "And foo muckle for a shave?"

"Fourpence," said the barber. "Well," said the customer, "gie ma heid a shave."

One of Harry's favourite songs was 'The Auldest Aberdonian', and, of course, he had his mean streak:

*"I can min' in Shakespeare  
Acted in a travellin' show,  
They chaired ye for admission,  
So of course I didna go."*

They said that Inversnecky helped to put Aberdeen on the map, but nobody could ever find it on the map. Harry cleared up the mystery when he gave a lunchtime talk in Aberdeen.

"Ye gang oot there for 16 miles," he said, pointing towards the west, "and ye come to a signpost. On one side it says 'You are just entering Inversnecky' and on the other 'You are just leaving Inversnecky.' It takes ye an oor by train fae Aberdeen, an oor an' a half by bus, an' if you wait for a lift it might tak' a lifetime!"

If Inversnecky was anywhere it was in the Beach Pavilion, an old wooden building which gave service for 22 summer seasons and was replaced in 1928 by a new Beach Pavilion.

It epitomised an era when the sun seemed to shine for ever and the Silver City's golden sands were black with people enjoying themselves.



Funny man: Harry Gordon, Laird of Inversnecky, home-grown in Aberdeen.

the 'mean Aberdonian'. He had a reputation for being canny with cash, but he would have claimed that he was thrifty, not stingy.

One of his friends was an Aberdeen businessman, Watt Hepburn, who was reputed to be a multi-millionaire and also knew the right side of a penny.

It was said that when they visited the Lake of Galilee on holiday, Tommy asked the boatman how much it would cost for a row on the lake.

After being told the price, he remarked to Watt Hepburn: "No wonder the Lord walked on it!"

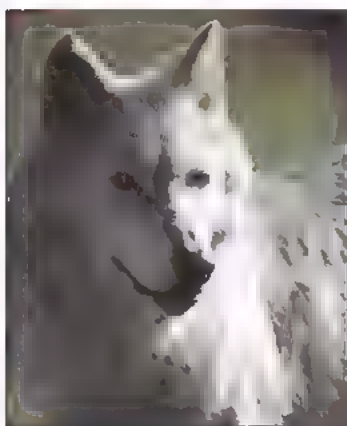
Aberdonians did more than anyone to spread the myth of their own meanness (after all, it was free publicity for the city).



# Hunt the wolf till its last howl is heard



■ On the loose: a wolf in its natural setting and among Scottish hills at the Kincaig Highland Wildlife Park near Kingussie.



**Seldom has an animal been so feared, demonised and systematically killed off until the last wolf was finally exterminated on a Highland hillside**

**T**he scourge of the wolf in Scotland was a problem that spanned centuries. Even during the reign of Mary, Queen of Scots, wolves were causing dismay in the countryside. They emerged from forests and mountains to hunt in packs. They generated fear, hatred, even demonic overtones and in the end became Scotland's most persecuted animal until the last wolf had been tracked down and killed. Wolves were everywhere.

That long, drawn-out haunting howl unheard in Scotland's wilderness for more than 250 years chilled the blood of our forefathers and, in the end, guaranteed its destruction.

Livestock was easy prey for wolves. In one night a marauding pack could devastate a flock of sheep, slaughter a cow or goat and threaten the very survival of farmers. And there were always plenty of witnesses ready to testify – true or false – that wolves devoured people.

Towards the end of the 16th century, Bishop Leslie, of Ross, gave man-eater wolf stories credence when he recorded:

*Our nighbour Inglande has noch...*

*wolf... but we now noch few, but verie money and maist cruel, cheiflie in our North cuntry, quhair noch only invade they sheip, oxen, ye and horse, but evin men, specialie women with barne outrageous and fierche they overthrow."*

The fact that wolves were also seen as the drooling scavengers of the battlefield and robbers of graves added revulsion. In the Orkneyinga Saga it was recounted how after the battle between the Vikings and the Skyemen:

*I saw a grey wolf gaping*

*O'er wounded corpse of many a man"*

It is believed island burial grounds like Handa, Green Island in Loch Awe, St Munda's Island in Loch Leven, an islet in Loch Marce or the isle of St Mungo off the Argyll coast were created specifically offshore to prevent the bodies of the dead being dug up by wolves. In Atholl the dead were buried in flagstone coffins to keep the wolves at bay.

At the time of Mary, Queen of Scots, wolves had become so numerous that it was said a man was taking his life in 1570 by passing through Lochaber.

Safety spits or hospices were built in open country for the protection of those who had not reached their

destinations by nightfall. The Spittal of Glenshee takes its name from such a shelter. During an Atholl deer drive in 1563, in honour of Mary, five wolves were destroyed.

Over centuries the sins of cattle and sheep slaughter, tales of wolves with the power of evil, red-eyed wolves and devil wolves that walked on hind legs like men, fired imaginations and turned the wolf into the most denigrated, feared and, in the end, the most systematically hunted animal in the land.

It was the loss of livestock and its commercial value – of course – that eventually sealed the wolf's fate, as well as its taste for human flesh, which depleted the herds and struck at the sportsman's heart.

By the 18th century, the writer Hector

Boydell wrote in his poem to the Earl of Argyll: "The wolf is no more in the parts of Scotland, we are part there of namit Glenclores." In a concerted attack on the wolf population of Scotland, the forests that gave them refuge were burned to the ground, wolf hunts were organised three times a year on a massive scale between April and August, when the cubs were more easily found, several acts of





■ Behold the wolf. . . from earliest times it was recognised as Scotland's public enemy and three times a year wolf hunts were organised.

parliament treated the wolf as a public enemy; bounties were paid and in Sutherland in 1621 the price on a wolf's head was £6 13s 4d.

The persecution continued until extinction sometime in the middle of the 18th century. The precise date is debatable because a number of areas claim to be home to the 'last wolf in Scotland'.

Some say it was dispatched on Craigenvenian at Dunkeld, others believe it was by the hand of the stalker Macqueen in 1743 on the Slochd near the River Findhorn.

Lord Morton, president of the Royal Society, spoke of wolves still existing in Scotland in 1756, although the evidence is doubtful.

It is known Sir Ewan Cameron of Lochiel killed a wolf at Killiecrankie in 1680, and in 1818 it was offered for sale in a glass case at a London auction as Lot 832. It is claimed the last Banffshire wolf was killed in 1644 and Sutherland wolves died out or were destroyed between 1690 and 1700.

The most graphic description of

## 'I foregathered wi' him, dirkit the beast and syne whuttled his craig for they are precarious creatures'

single-handed combat between man and wolf is the account given by the stalker Macqueen at Findhorn.

It seems he had been ordered by the Laird of Mackintosh to lead a hunt for a 'black beast' that had slain two children the previous day.

But instead of joining the gathering or *tainchel*, Macqueen decided to go straight to the hill himself with his hunting dog.

When he eventually returned late in the day the laird was furious that his instruction had been disobeyed and a crowd had gathered.

"Ciod e a chabhag?" (What's all the fuss?) Maclean asked. Then he lifted his plaid and there was the gory wolf's head dangling from his belt.

"Sin e dhuibh!" (There it is for you!) and he threw the bloody head to the ground.

Sir Thomas Dick Lauder gives

another version, but allows Macqueen to detail his triumph in Scots, an unlikely occurrence in 1743 when most ordinary folk still spoke Gaelic:

*"As I came through the slochd by east the hill there, I foregathered wi the beast," said Macqueen. "My long-dog there turned him, I buckled wi him, and dirkit him, and syne whuttled his craig, and brought awa his countenance for fear he might come alive again, for they are very precarious creatures".*

And so, most probably, the last wolf in Scotland met its end.

In these more enlightened times, studies indicate the wolf is a much more shy and retiring animal than legend suggests and there is now discussion about returning it to roam free again in the Highlands.

It is claimed that, against popular belief, the wolf is unlikely to attack a

man unless provoked. But the old arguments, of course, are again being rehearsed.

Farmers in particular are concerned for their livestock, lairds for their deer and in an age when more hillwalkers and tourists visit Scotland's wilderness areas than ever before it would take only one incident – or even imagined incident – to hear again human howls for the wolf's blood.

It seems if we are indeed to hear once more the call of the wolf across Scotland's mountains, then the most persecuted animal in history will still have to overcome the same prejudice nurtured over centuries to have a chance of survival for a second time.

□ One of the best places to see wolves in Scotland is at the Highland Wildlife Park at Kinncraig, near Aviemore. There is a walkway where you can look down on the wolves in their natural habitat. The Park boasts a full array of Scotland's wildlife – past and present. ●



# Amazing home of Sir Walter



The Borders were always special for Sir Walter Scott, who built and furnished his famous home at Abbotsford from the relics of Scottish history, says biker historian David Ross

For anyone interested in Sir Walter Scott, the first place on your itinerary must be Abbotsford, Scott's house on the River Tweed near Melrose. It is signposted from the main road running between Melrose and Galashiels.

Scott purchased the site in 1811. It originally bore the name of Cartleyhole. But Scott knew the nearby shallows of the Tweed had once been used by the monks of Melrose Abbey to drive their cattle across and changed the name to Abbotsford.

Between 1817 and 1821 he built the present stately baronial mansion. Many of its designs and parts are copies of famous old architectural objects, such as a gateway from Linlithgow Palace, a portal from the Edinburgh Old Tolbooth, a roof from Rosslyn Chapel, a mantelpiece from Melrose Abbey and oak-work from Holyrood Palace.

The house is filled with a wealth of objects from every era of Scottish history. For example, among the bits and pieces covering the walls are Rob Roy's basket-hilted broadsword and dirk, a crucifix which belonged to Mary, Queen of Scots, and copies of some candlesticks which belonged to Robert the Bruce.

There are other notable attractions, such as some of the personal items of Napoleon Bonaparte. Sir Walter was a great collector of Scottish artefacts, but he was also the recipient of numerous gifts from admirers.

Abbotsford House is open to the public, and is still owned and run by Sir Walter's direct descendants.

Many parts of Scotland bear a connection with Scott. He 'created' the Trossachs, his writings causing a

plethora of visitors all eager to see the landscapes about which he wrote. The Trossachs continue to be a popular tourist destination.

It is recalled that when Scott visited Douglas Castle in southern Lanarkshire, tears rolled down his cheeks so moved was he by this cradle of so much of Scotland's history. Douglas Castle was to be made famous as the model for his book 'Castle Dangerous', a name by which it is still known.

Scott had a key role in recovering Scotland's regalia – the crown, sceptre and sword of state. They had been consigned to a chest within Edinburgh Castle after the Treaty of Union. Scott's successful hunt can now be appreciated by visiting the 'Honours of Scotland' at the Castle. They have now been joined by the Stone of Destiny, since its return from Westminster Abbey.

Scott's View is marked on most road maps. It is near Bemersyde on the B6356 near Melrose. High

above the Tweed there is a lay-by with a panoramic vista over the Border country so beloved by Scott, with the Eildon Hills prominent in the foreground. Scott would often pause here to absorb so many sites prominent in Scotland's history.

As Scott's body was borne to its last resting place at Dryburgh Abbey in a hearse drawn by his own horse, it is said the horse paused at the viewpoint as it had always done when Scott was alive.

Dryburgh Abbey was founded in 1150, but it was badly damaged by invading English armies in 1322, 1385 and, finally, in 1544. It is also the last resting place of other members of Scott's family, together with J G Lockhart, Scott's biographer, Field Marshal Earl Haig, and the 11th Earl of Buchan, Scott's close friend.

This Earl of Buchan was responsible for the giant statue of William Wallace which stands on the hillside near the Abbey ruins. ●



■ The Scott spaceship: how the Scott Monument looked on completion in 1846 in Princes Street Gardens, Edinburgh. When the Capital ran an open competition for the design, it was won by the mysterious but grand-sounding 'John Morvo'. Morvo turned out to be George Meikle Kemp, an amateur architect from the Borders, but his unusual gothic rocket-like masterpiece is now recognised the world over.



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Siemens: NPG, London.

p15/16/17/18 Strathspey Railway: Daily Record; Monkland & Kirkcaldy Line: Dr Marcus Merriman; Stephenson Family: National Railway Museum; Railhead: People's Palace/GMAG; Viaduct: MEPC; The Iron Way: GMAG. p19/20/21 Saltmarket by Thomas Annan; Textile Workers: Pringle of Scotland; Coates Memorial Church: AA Picture Library.

p22/23/24/25 Irish Emigrants arriving in Liverpool: National Portrait Gallery; Glasgow Tenements both by Thomas Annan; Celtic v Hibs photographed by Daily Mirror; Emigration from Queenstown: The Irish Picture Library. p26/27 Robert Smith. p28/29 Wolves: Highland Wildlife Park. p30 Old and New Edinburgh.

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# SCOTLAND'S STORY

## NEXT WEEK IN PART 42



Few eras in Scotland's past have excited as much debate as the Highland Clearances. Today, the issue remains as divisive and emotional as ever. Find out in the next issue of Scotland's Story the truth behind the claims and counter-claims of 'tenant idleness and landlord tyranny...'

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